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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
23 October 1973

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

State Dept & DIA review(s)
completed

MIDDLE EAST

Situation Report Number 69
(As of 2230 EDT)

GENERAL

1. Fighting continued on both fronts after the cease-fire deadline despite earlier signs that the UN resolution might be honored. On the Egyptian front, Tel Aviv claims the Egyptians broke the cease-fire in the central sector and that fighting has now spread to other areas. Cairo asserts that the Israelis have fabricated the violation in order to renew their own actions. On the Syrian front, fighting also continued past the deadline, but Damascus has called off a combined Arab offensive scheduled for 23 October.

THE MILITARY SITUATION

THE EGYPTIAN FRONT

2. Fighting resumed on the Egyptian front this evening after a short respite just before and after the effective time for a cease-fire (1652z; 1252 EDT). Tel Aviv claims that the Egyptians began shelling Israeli positions near Ismailia about an hour after the time for a cease-fire had passed. Fighting appears to have spread, and late tonight Israeli military spokesmen reported that the Egyptians are using "all

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sorts of weapons" along most sectors of the front. Defense Minister Dayan and Chief of Staff Elazar reported to a late night cabinet meeting concerning the Egyptian actions.

3. Cairo denies the Tel Aviv claim and asserts that Egypt is observing the cease-fire. The Egyptians claim that Israel is making false allegations as an excuse to break the cease-fire.

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THE SYRIAN FRONT

5. Fighting still continues on the Syrian front as Damascus has yet to accept the cease-fire resolution. The Israelis assaulted the slopes of Mount Hermon last evening, and claimed control of the area by late today. Reports from the field indicate that heavy fighting failed to subside after the cease-fire deadline, however, and the situation remains unclear. Tel Aviv now claims control of 350 square miles of Syrian territory, and says that Arab losses on the front as a result of today's fighting total about 212 aircraft and 1,000 tanks.

6. During the day, the Israelis also made heavy air and artillery strikes against fedaveen bases opposite Mount Hermon in Lebanon,

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Tel Aviv has been bothered by the intensified terrorist activity originating from the area since the war began, and has been biding its time

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[Redacted]
for a reprisal.

7.

[Redacted] A combined Syrian-Jordanian-Iraqi offensive was scheduled for 23 October, and King Husayn had reiterated that his forces in Syria are under Syrian control and will abide by the decision of Damascus on the cease-fire. The advanced elements of an additional Jordanian armored brigade are in Syria, along with one Iraqi armored division and a task force from a second division. Saudi and Syrian units also are in the area and capable of additional support. Early on the morning of the 23rd, the King advised the ambassador that Damascus had just ordered a stand-down in the scheduled offensive..

SOVIET AIRLIFT

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9.

[Redacted]
Thus Cairo continues to

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be the primary beneficiary in terms of the cargo tonnage of the Soviet airlift.

SOVIET POLITICAL ACTIVITY

10. Italian Minister Migliuolo called on officials at the US UN mission today to call attention to the difference in the Russian and English texts of paragraph two of the Security Council resolution. According to the Italian, the Russian text calls for "practical fulfillment" of Resolution 242, while the English calls for its "implementation." The Italian claimed the Russians are already saying that "practical fulfillment" means immediate Israeli withdrawal. The US UN mission notes that Migliuolo is an experienced Soviet watcher and adds that, if, in fact, the Soviets are spreading this interpretation it could put the US and Israel on the defensive.

11. Moscow's first available commentary on the cease-fire resolution, a broadcast in Arabic, stressed that the new Security Council action calls for immediate steps toward the "practical implementation" of Resolution 242. The broadcast told its listeners that the new resolution represents the first time Israel has agreed to the need for implementing all the requirements for a Middle East peace, including withdrawal from occupied territories.

12. A press report from Beirut states that Soviet Ambassador to Syria Mukhitdinov met twice today with Syrian Foreign Minister Khaddam. There is no further information on these contacts, but Mukhitdinov probably urged the Syrians to endorse the cease-fire resolution.

PEACE CONFERENCE SITE

13. Greece has offered to play host for peace negotiations on the Middle East, according to an Athens press report. The island of Rhodes was the site of the signing of the armistice agreement between Israel and the Arab states in 1949.

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ANNEX I

REACTIONS TO MIDDLE EAST CEASE-FIRETHE PRINCIPALSISRAEL

1. Prime Minister Meir has announced that she will address the Knesset on the cease-fire on 23 October. In the only commentary by an Israeli official beyond the cabinet's early morning acceptance of the cease-fire, Defense Minister Dayan stated late on 22 October that Israel had not asked for and did not need a cease-fire; although Egypt and Syria can rehabilitate their forces with the equipment being received from the Soviet Union, they have lost the current fighting, Dayan said, and Israel clearly holds territory on the Suez Canal's west bank. Asked whether this Israeli bridgehead were as effective as a water obstacle, Dayan countered with a remark to the effect that Israel's present concern was defeating the enemy and not outlining borders.

2. Early Israel media reaction has been cautious, but generally unenthusiastic. Most commentators take the line that the cease-fire interrupts Israeli forces on the way to victory and is designed to "save the Arabs from defeat" and "becloud Israel's military victory." One editorialist noted that the present plan is "less convenient" for Israel than was the Rogers Plan, but another--after somewhat gloomily examining Israel's choice between territorial concessions and continued reliance on military superiority--notes that Israel will find it hard to reject a peace proposal supported by the US.

EGYPT

3. Public [redacted] Egyptian responses to the cease-fire indicate that Cairo intends to hold out for

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a total Israeli withdrawal. President Sadat's statement accepting the stand-down noted that "the Egyptian interpretation of the Security Council resolution is quite clear," and in explaining the terms of the cease-fire resolution to Foreign Minister Zayyat, Presidential Adviser Hafiz Ismail referred to it as "a cease-fire and withdrawal in accordance with Resolution 242 to the 1967 positions."

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SYRIA

5. Syria continues to withhold official agreement to the cease-fire, and there are indications that President Asad is having difficulty convincing his own Syrian leadership and/or Iraq of the merits of the stand-down. Asad was closeted in meetings through late evening 22 October

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JORDAN

6. Asad's failure to take a stand is complicating Jordan's position. The cabinet has announced its acceptance of the cease-fire, but with the caveat that Jordan's forces in Syria remain under Syrian control. King Husayn

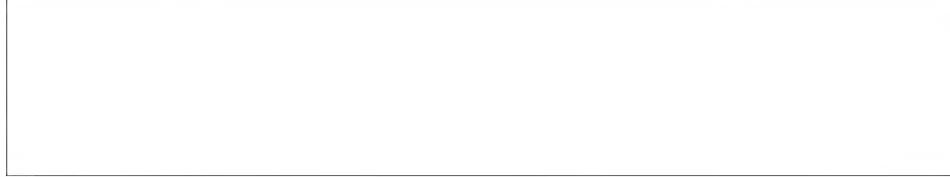
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will probably leave the status of Jordan's troops ambiguous for as long as possible.

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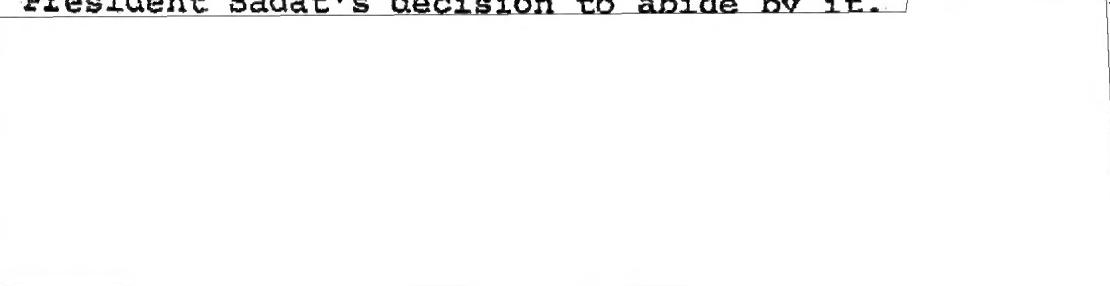
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OTHER ARAB STATES

7. Saudi Arabia's only public mention of the cease-fire has been a Riyadh Radio announcement of President Sadat's decision to abide by it.

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8. President Qadhafi has made known his strong opposition to the cease-fire via a Tripoli radio broadcast and an interview with a French newspaper. In both, the Libyan line is that the cease-fire is unacceptable because it is a creation of the US, the USSR, and Israel. Qadhafi also used the occasion of his interview to criticize Egypt and Syria for not consulting him before initiating hostilities and for limiting their horizons to the liberation of the occupied territories. What is essential, he said, is "to liberate the Palestinians."

9. The umbrella Palestine Liberation Organization has announced its rejection of the cease-fire and its intention to continue the fight against Israel. This is a logical consequence of long-standing fedayeen suspicions of any moves toward a settlement, and their more recent conviction that Egypt and Syria began the current conflict with no intention of fighting for Palestinian rights.

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10. the general attitude in Algeria is one of disgust, in that Algeria has "once again" been betrayed by Egypt. Most Algerians are reportedly bitter that the cease-fire was concluded while Algeria was fighting against Israel, and believe that Syria has been "ruined" and betrayed by Egypt.

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11. Other Arab states which have commented at all on the cease-fire have adopted a cautious attitude, gearing their position to those of the principal Arab combatants. In private, Lebanese officials have welcomed the cease-fire and indicated that they are alert to the possibility that the fedayeen in southern Lebanon might attempt violations.

EUROPE

12. British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home has issued a brief statement appealing to both sides to observe the cease-fire "scrupulously" and urging that "this time, the momentum toward peace must not be allowed to slacken." Douglas-Home expressed Britain's willingness to provide part of any peace-keeping force under UN auspices, so long as the force was not subject to removal by unilateral decision of any party. The Foreign Secretary spoke of the probability of international guarantees and demilitarized zones; he did not outline a position on an Israeli withdrawal, but Britain is likely to continue its support for a pullback to the 1967 borders.

13. France's position supporting the Arab negotiating stand remains unchanged, although no statements have been issued since the Security Council meeting on 21 October. Most other West European states have withheld comment and will probably adhere to a generally worded statement being drafted by the members of the EC. Although not yet published, the statement in draft endorses the cease-fire resolution, urges its immediate acceptance, and calls for the implementation of Resolution 242 "in all its parts."

14. Even before the fighting broke out on 6 October, the European states were feeling increasingly nervous about being caught in the middle of an Arab-US dispute over oil, and they will be cautious in balancing their relations with the US on the one hand and their desire for a continued flow of oil from the Arabs on

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[Redacted]

the other. The official European policy of "even-handedness" toward the Arabs and the Israelis has been aided by a general decline in public sympathies for Israel since the 1967 war.

15. There has been no official reaction from any East European state on the cease-fire, although continued support for the Arab position can be expected in varying degrees from all of these countries. Yugoslavia, as a leader among the nonaligned states and a principal ally of the Arabs, will undoubtedly take a leading position.

CHINA

16. Peking has not reacted officially, and it signaled by its non-participation in the Security Council vote that it intends to maintain a very low profile. The Chinese will, however, be alert throughout the Middle East for any signs of antipathy toward Moscow and Washington that might be turned to Chinese advantage.

OTHER STATES

17. Japan has also withheld comment. Tokyo will undoubtedly support the cease-fire, but it will probably adopt a cautious position, finessing any direct reference to its concern over oil supplies.

18. India has endorsed the cease-fire and reiterated its position that Israeli-occupied territories should be "vacated" in order to remove the potential for further tension. New Delhi can be expected to maintain its position in support of the Arabs, and President Sadat expressed his recognition and appreciation for this support by specifically citing in his cease-fire announcement India's statements at the Security Council debate. Pakistan has made no comment on the cease-fire, but its full support for the Arab position is expected.

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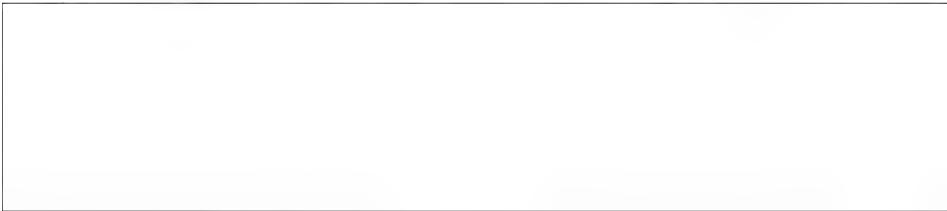
19. Although Turkey has not commented publicly or privately on the cease-fire, Foreign Minister Bayulken has presented the US Ambassador with a refinement of Turkey's peace proposal which this time does not appear to call for a total Israeli withdrawal. The proposal is a several-step package which enjoins Israel to withdraw from territories occupied in 1967 in the interests of "good neighborly relations," urges the Arab states to negotiate secure and recognized boundaries based "essentially" on the lines of June 1967, and calls for an international peace-keeping force to move into the evacuated territories, "to be stationed in areas whose occupation by one state would endanger the security of another." Nowhere in the proposal is the critical word "the" linked to occupied territories. This appears to be a significant change from earlier Turkish statements supporting a total Israeli withdrawal, the most recent of these being in the original version of Bayulken's proposal which called for a complete withdrawal and allowed for the possibility of only minor rectifications in the 1967 borders.

Middle East Reactions to Cease-fire Resolution

	Accept	Reject	No Official Reaction
Israel	X		
Egypt	X		
Syria			X
Iraq		X	
Jordan	X		
Saudi Arabia			X
Morocco			X
Algeria			X
Libya		X	
Palestine Liberation Organization		X	

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ANNEX II

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT AND SYRIA

(As of 22 October 1973)

Since the beginning of hostilities on 6 October, the number of Arab states that have become active participants on the side of Syria and Egypt has increased. Military assistance also has been provided by other states--both Arab and non-Arab. A summary of significant military contributions to Syria and Egypt by these countries follows below.

ARAB CONTRIBUTIONS

IRAQ

Iraq's military contribution actually preceded the outbreak of war. Last spring, Baghdad sent a squadron of Hawker Hunter aircraft--some 16 planes--and about 160 pilots and technicians to Egypt. This squadron participated in the war at the outset and apparently has suffered heavy losses.

Since 6 October, Iraq reportedly has placed all its military forces at the disposal of Syria and Egypt. At least two Iraqi divisions--one armored and probably one mechanized--have already been deployed to Syria. Three Iraqi fighter squadrons, consisting of over 30 SU-7 fighter-bombers and 16 MIG-21 interceptors, have been committed to combat on the Syrian front.

LIBYA

Assistance by Tripoli has been limited. At least 20 Libyan Mirage aircraft that were flown by Egyptian pilots were stationed in Egypt last spring. Since the commencement of hostilities, additional Libyan Mirages reportedly have been deployed to Egypt.

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If

additional Libyan aircraft and pilots have been sent, the Libyan contribution may exceed one squadron--some 16 to 20 aircraft, a similar number of pilots.

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JORDAN

Jordan has contributed only ground forces to the war so far. One armored brigade, deployed in southern Syria, already has engaged in combat. The deployment of a second armored brigade to Syria reportedly was being expedited today because of the impending cease-fire.

MOROCCO

At the beginning of the fighting, Morocco had about one infantry brigade consisting of 2,000 to 3,000 troops, some 60 medium tanks, and some armored personnel carriers and support equipment stationed in Syria near the Golan Heights. Since then, Rabat reportedly has sent an air force contingent of more than 200 personnel, including some pilots to Syria, and an infantry brigade of about 3,000 man to Egypt. Morocco apparently has promised to send to Syria additional air force personnel and an armored brigade, as well as several antitank units to Egypt.

SAUDI ARABIA

The Saudi military contribution to the war effort thus far has been limited to a single 4,000 man combat brigade and two Hawk surface-to-air missile batteries. Ten Saudi helicopters also reportedly have been sent to Syria. The Saudi brigade has already engaged in combat.

II-2

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ALGERIA

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Since the beginning of the war, Algeria has dispatched to Egypt two fighter squadrons--one MIG-17 and one MIG-21--along with pilots. An SU-7 squadron also may have been sent to Egypt. In addition, [redacted] that Algiers may have sent MIG aircraft and some air force personnel to Syria last spring. About 1,000 Algerian infantry troops also have been sent to Egypt, as well as various engineer and aircraft maintenance units.

TUNISIA

Tunisia's small contribution consists of a single infantry battalion and a medical team, both of which have been sent to Egypt.

SUDAN

The actual extent of Sudanese participation in the war is unclear. Sudanese airborne, infantry, and armored units--probably the equivalent of no more than a brigade--reportedly are stationed in Egypt. In addition, Khartoum reportedly has promised to send an armored unit to Syria, but there is no indication that this unit has been dispatched.

KUWAIT

Prior to the war, a Kuwaiti infantry battalion of about 500 men was stationed in Egypt. This battalion has been reinforced by another infantry force of equal number. Eight Kuwaiti pilots apparently also were sent to Egypt, as were two medical teams. A Kuwaiti infantry battalion reportedly is en route to Syria and may have already arrived there.

NORTH YEMEN

Sana promised earlier in the war to send 3,000 guerrilla fighters to Syria, but there is no evidence they have left for the front.

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NON-ARAB CONTRIBUTIONS (OTHER THAN THE USSR)

EASTERN EUROPE

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Poland reportedly has given Syria about 100 medium tanks, and Yugoslavia has provided a similar number to Egypt. The tanks provided by Belgrade may have arrived at a Libyan port. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia also have provided large amounts of artillery and SAM equipment to Syria.

PAKISTAN

Islamabad has provided both recoilless rifles and ammunition to Syria. Until recently, it has managed to avoid making any commitment of combat personnel. Recent reports indicate, however, that Pakistani pilots and ground support personnel were scheduled to arrive in Syria sometime today. Pakistan also has provided medical teams to both Syria and Egypt.

BANGLADESH

Bangladesh has sent medical teams to both Syria and Egypt.

NORTH VIETNAM

A small number of North Vietnamese air defense specialists reportedly were sent to Syria prior to the commencement of hostilities.

II-4

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No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/08/06 : LOC-HAK-543-6-15-6

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ANNEX III

ECONOMIC AID TO EGYPT AND SYRIA FROM ISLAMIC STATES

(As of 22 October 1973)

Economic aid by oil-wealthy Arab states to Egypt and Syria during the course of current hostilities has consisted primarily of financial pledges, which total about \$2.5 billion: Egypt getting some \$950 million and Syria receiving possibly as much as \$1.6 billion. There is no evidence that this financial aid has been coordinated among the Arab countries.

The sums provided Egypt and Syria will shore up their reserves, will help establish the base for hard currency purchases, and be extremely important in the context of long-term needs, including post-war recovery. Syria has sustained considerable damage, and the funds will be especially critical for reconstruction. Cairo conceivably could emerge in a better financial position than before the war, should war damage not greatly exceed present levels. The extent of Soviet repayment claims on both Syria and Egypt for military deliveries cannot be determined.

Non-financial assistance to Cairo and Damascus has included large amounts of petroleum and fuel products, supplies of critical medical equipment, and small amounts of sundry food items. The provision of petroleum supplies to Syria has been a primary occupation of the other Arab countries, as shortages of POL developed after the destruction of Syria's sole refinery at Homs. Although Egypt's major refinery at Alexandria is still in operation, Cairo depends on imports for about 60 percent of its crude oil needs. Quantities of medical supplies and a number of medical personnel have been provided by the Arab states in response to Syrian and Egyptian requests for such assistance. Only modest amounts of food aid have been given by other Islamic states, an indication that neither Egypt nor Syria has felt a severe strain on its food supplies.

Details regarding financial and non-financial economic assistance are contained in the tables that follow.

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